Translating Religion

TRANSLATING RELIGION: GERMAN WOMEN TRANSLATORS OF ROBERT BURNS'S 'THE COTTER'S SATURDAY NIGHT' IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

Translating Robert Burns's songs and ballads into German was a nineteenth-century phenomenon; it is not widely known, however, that women translated Burns, as their work has received little critical attention. This article analyses Emilie von Berlepsch's (1802-04) and Emilie Fierlein's (1841) German translations of Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' (1785-86), and the original, in order to demonstrate that their personal religious sensitivities influenced their translation strategies in relation to the religious references in stanzas 12-18 of Burns's poem. Furthermore, critics of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' have overlooked the liturgical structure of the poem and also avoided examining its eschatological and apocalyptic themes, which were also problematic for the translators. The women translators were unwilling to allow Burns's image of God as avenging and wrathful, his patriarchs of the Old Testament as sinful and ruthless, and his apocalyptic references to John of Patmos's visions and the Book of Life to disrupt the rural idyll of the scene of family worship in the cottage. They made significant changes that emphasised the spiritual education of the heart and emotional worship, faith, prayer, and the theme of salvation.

Das Übersetzen von Robert Burns' Liedern und Balladen ins Deutsche war ein Phänomen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts. Es ist aber nicht allgemein bekannt, dass Frauen Burns übersetzt

haben, da ihren Übersetzungen bisher wenig kritische Beachtung geschenkt wurde. Dieser Artikel befasst sich mit Emilie von Berlepschs (1802-04) und Emilie Fierleins (1841) Übersetzungen von Burns 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' (1785-86) ins Deutsche und mit dem Originaltext, um zu zeigen, dass die persönlichen religiösen Empfindlichkeiten der Übersetzerinnen ihre Übersetzungsstrategien in Bezug auf den religiösen Inhalt der Strophen 12-18 von Burns' Gedicht beeinflussten. Außerdem haben Kritiker der 'Cotter's Saturday Night' sowohl die liturgische Struktur des Gedichts als auch die eschatologischen und apokalyptischen Themen nicht beachtet, die auch für die Übersetzerinnen von Berlepsch und Fierlein problematisch waren. Die Übersetzerinnen waren nicht bereit, die ländliche Idylle der Andacht im Kreise der Familie im Cottage durch Burns' rächende und zornige Gottesvorstellung, seine sündhaften und unbarmherzigen Patriarchen des Alten Testaments und seine apokalyptischen Bezüge auf die Visionen des Johannes auf Patmos und das Buch des Lebens zerstören zu lassen. Sie nahmen stattdessen erhebliche Änderungen vor, die die geistliche Bildung des Herzens und eine gefühlsbetonte Ausübung der Religion, den Glauben, das Beten, und das Thema der Erlösung in den Vordergrund stellten.

The translations of Robert Burns's songs and ballads into German by nineteenth-century female translators have yet to be examined at length. The most significant German women translators were Emilie von Berlepsch (1755-1830), Emilie Fierlein (no traceable birth and death dates), and L(o)uise von Ploennies (1803-1872). There are other nineteenth-century German women translators who contributed their Burns translations to mixed anthologies of poems by a range of writers, such as Luise Büchner (1821-1877), Elise Polko (1823-1899), Ilse Frapan (1852-1908), Wilhelmine Prinzhorn (b. 1859, no traceable death date), and Margarete Friedlaender (1860-1913), who have also received little or no attention in the secondary literature on Burns in German translation.[1] This article seeks to broaden the focus in Burns Studies to women translators by beginning to address the general critical neglect of

women's contributions to the reception of Burns in Germany that overlooks the part women played in cross-cultural relations between Germany and Scotland, and their role in the cultural production of transnational literature and anthologies of poetry in translation.

Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' (1785-86) was amongst the earliest of Burns's poems to be translated into German during the nineteenth century, by both male and female translators.[2] There are five translations: Emilie von Berlepsch's 'Der Sonnabend-Abend in der Schotten Hütte' (1802-1804) (*C*, I, pp. 241-50), Wilhelm Gerhard's 'Des Hüttners Samstagabend' (1840), Emilie Fierlein's 'Des Hüttenbewohners Samstag-Abend' (1841) (*AD*, pp. 15-21), Eduard Fiedler's 'Des Häuslers Sonnabend Abend' (1846), and Adolf Laun's 'Des Hüttenbewohners Samstag-Abend. An Robert Aiken, Esq' (1869).[3] This article looks specifically at Emilie von Berlepsch's and Emilie Fierlein's translations of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' in relation to how their translation choices changed Burns's religious images and themes, revealing the translators' religious sensitivities and perhaps those of their readers.

Scholarship in the field of Scottish literary studies on Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' began by focusing on making connections between Burns's biography and the cotters' way of life. Modern interpretations have generally emphasised the authenticity of the rural lifestyle depicted in the poem, its patriotism, the story of innocent love between Jenny and her visiting suitor, and the criticism of formal, ritualised worship. If criticised, the poem is assessed as too moralising, too sentimental, or too artificial.[4] 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' is seen as presenting examples of positive religious and moral behaviour that Burns promotes as exemplary, and which support the idea that rural virtues can become national virtues in Scotland. Since the cotters' way of life was dying out by the time the poem was written, it is also viewed as an idealised version of the lives of a family in rural Scotland, who worked hard as waged labourers on neighbouring farms and retired to worship at home on Saturday evening.[5]

It is striking that seven of the twenty-one stanzas of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' (stanzas 12-18) contain religious content that has been neglected in interpretations of the poem. David Daiches notes the 'true tone of rustic worship', the lack of Scots in the language of these stanzas, and the poem's progression from the 'secular to the religious', but he does not devote much space to interpreting the significance of the religious content, and quickly moves on to stanza nineteen, and whilst doing so, suggests that Burns spends too much time on the scene of domestic worship.[6] Like Daiches, other critics have commented that the movement in the poem from the rustic to the religious is underscored by the linguistic change from the mixture of Scots vernacular and Standard English to just Standard English, which was the dominant religious language of Scotland.[7] Indeed, from the moment the father announces the words '*Let us worship* God' at the end of stanza twelve, the Scots vernacular is abandoned (*TCSN*, p. 10). Although Donald A. Low notes that critics have overlooked 'the depth of Burns's Biblical knowledge and awareness of Scottish Presbyterian tradition', despite this acknowledgment, Low does not discuss in detail what he calls the 'clearly identifiable Old and New Testament texts which are cited by the poet'.[8] Above all, the main focus in the secondary literature about 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' tends to be on the general impression of domestic worship and piety, and on what Low refers to as 'Burns's idealised treatment in the poem of love, family, and nation'.[9]

The Reformed Church tradition of worshipping at home on the Sabbath eve is depicted in stanzas 12-18, but what has been left uncommented in the research on 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' is that the thematic structure of these stanzas resembles the order of a church service.[10] Although the poem does not make a direct reference to a particular liturgy, its structure follows the pattern of the call to worship, metrical psalm singing, the first lesson from the Old Testament, the second lesson from the New Testament, prayers, hymns, and a dismissal, when the family members go their separate ways, some retiring to bed and the others taking off 'hameward' (*TCSN*, p. 15). The eighteenth stanza ends the religious section

with the parents asking God to provide for them and their children, and fill their hearts with 'Grace divine' (*TCSN*, p. 15). This is a structure that the female translators transferred into German, but with revisions.

In addition to this, what is also missing from the research on this poem is an acknowledgment that the religious stanzas make it part of the canon of apocalyptic and eschatological poetry. Apocalyptic references in poetry were more common after the French Revolution and during the Romantic era, which Burns's poem (1785-86) pre-dates.[11] By linking the cotters to a discussion of the apocalypse, Burns is in effect drawing attention to a break between the present and the past, where the cotters as a rapidly declining minority are located. Anne K. Mellor argues: 'Apocalyptic thinking involves either what Foucault would call an epistemic break, a sudden and complete rupture between one cultural system and another, or it involves the sense of ending, or teleological completion […].'[12] Indeed Burns's focus on apocalyptic material in the central core of the poem, such as the end of the world, the kingdom of God, the judgement of the dead, and the world to come, is not insignificant, but crucial to understanding how the 'hardy sons of rustic toil' and the 'virtuous Populace' can be primed to rise and stand as a 'wall of fire around their much-lov'd Isle' (*TCSN*, pp. 16-17).

Examples of apocalyptic references are present in Burns's stanza fifteen, which refers to St John of Patmos receiving the prophecy of the destruction of Babylon from the angel in the sky. The narrator of the poem also provides an eschatological discussion in stanza sixteen about the hope of relief from sorrow for the redeemed, 'No more to sigh, or shed the bitter tear', quoting the prophetic expectations of the future in Isaiah 35.10 and Revelation 10. In stanza seventeen, the image of the Book of Life, which Burns notes contains the names of 'the inmates poor', signals that after the judgement of the dead, the poor will not be cast into the lake of fire (Revelation 17.8; Revelation 20.12, 15, 27) (*TCSN*, pp. 12-14). The Book of Life is a record of the righteous who are granted eternal life. While Burns relates the cotters' worship to the theme of the end of the world, his apocalyptic references focus on a positive

transcendental future, rather than the destruction of the world. The pious and virtuous cotters find hope and comfort in God and in their traditional religious practices. In the words of the narrator, Burns creates a wider cosmic context of eternity and time that directly relates to the cotters. Their moral actions and values are linked closely to the images of religious judgement and reward, and compared favourably to the negatively depicted 'lordling's pomp', 'Luxury's contagion', pageantry of church rituals, and those who worship without genuine feeling (*TCSN*, pp. 14-16). In stanza 16, the cotters are destined to meet in future days, i.e. in the world to come, and to 'ever bask in uncreated rays'. Burns echoes here the description of the Last Judgement in Daniel 12.2-3, when the wise will shine like the brightness of the firmament. The cotters not only serve as a paragon of virtue, 'lov'd at home, and rever'd abroad' (*TCSN*, pp. 15), they also represent the possibility of religious renewal through emulation.

Studying the German women translators' reception of Burns's critique of religion reveals that in contrast with the male translators, Wilhelm Gerhard, Eduard Fiedler, and Adolf Laun, the women made more radical changes and omissions to the key apocalyptic and eschatological topoi that Burns employed, and mediated a different religious emphasis to Burns that introduced a more emphatic theme of hope and salvation. If one views the response to the apocalypse as a reaction to the spirit of the era, then von Berlepsch and Fierlein's translations of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' around 1800 and 1840 respectively, reveal that they thought these were not the times for pessimistic visions of the future or catastrophizing. Later, in the context of Napoleonic rule and the rise of Romantic-era nationalism, from 1806 to 1813, apocalyptic discourse became more widespread in Germany as people began to speculate whether Napoleon was part of the predicted end of the world, prompting many to read the Revelation of John, and some even interpreting the word Apollyon, Greek for the destroyer, in Revelation 9.11 as a reference to Napoleon.[13] As a movement of religious awakenings was developing in post-Napoleonic Germany, Southern German pietists, for

example, the Baden Pietist and writer Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling (1740-1817), known as 'the patriarch of the Awakening', started publishing missionizing articles in his Nuremberg journal *Der graue Mann* from 1795 to 1816, advocating emigration to Southern Russia to await the second coming of Christ, the Parousia.[14] Such post-Enlightenment, anti-rationalist awakening movements paid particular attention to the millennial kingdom, revelation, and eschatology.[15]

While political and historical contexts are clearly relevant to all responses to the apocalypse and the eschaton, the timings of Burns's poem, before the French Revolution, and of the translations, before Napoleonic rule and before the 1848 revolutions, point to an optimistic vision of the future.

THE TRANSLATOR EMILIE VON BERLEPSCH

Emilie von Berlepsch was born Emilie von Oppel in Gotha (Thüringen) in 1755 and died in 1830. She married Friedrich Ludwig Freiherr von Berlepsch, who was the President of the High Court in Hannover, in 1771.[16] In 1802-04, she became the first German woman to translate a Burns poem into German, which was published in her four-volume account of her travels through Scotland, called *Caledonia*. *Caledonia* contained the earliest critical assessments of Burns's literary work in Germany, and also made her the first German woman to publish a travel description of a tour through Scotland. On her tour of Scotland in the years 1799 and 1800, she was accompanied by the Reverend James Macdonald and his sister.[17] She met her travelling companion, James Macdonald, around 1796 in Weimar.[18] He was a Gaelic speaker and was working as a tutor in Weimar, and also advising Herder on Ossian.[19] She was closely linked to the literary circles connected to Goethe, Herder, and Jean Paul (Richter). Her travel description was dedicated to Herder, whom she had befriended after she settled in Weimar, after divorcing her husband.[20] Her motivation for the journey was to see Ossianic

Scotland for herself, and in the process she discovered Burns, who was practically unknown in Germany around 1800.

Enthused by a copy of Burns's poetry, von Berlepsch gives a brief account of his life in volume one of *Caledonia* (*C*, I, pp. 215-54). Perhaps as part of her efforts to mediate Burns according to known reference points in Germany, such as Ossian and the Scottish Highlands, von Berlepsch introduced to German readers the idea of Burns as a West Highlander.[21] Her account of Burns's life is full of regret for the lack of patronage and protection of Burns, and full of admiration for the unschooled nature of his genius.[22] It is a naïve view of Burns that tallies with Rosemary Selle's and Frauke Reitemeier's periodisation of the first phase of the German-language reception of Burns from 1786 to 1829, when only a few German translations of individual poems were available.[23] In this period, Selle identifies that the biographical focus is in the foreground, especially 'the conflict between genius (Burns the poet) and morality (Burns the man)', and specifies that 'the emphasis is on the natural, uneducated poet, with no comment as yet on craftsmanship and technique'.[24] Von Berlepsch concentrates on Burns's agricultural background, his interrupted schooling, and the influence of the psalms of David, which she writes were frequently sung in Scottish homes. Her view of Burns assumes a correlation between natural genius and a minimal education. This primitivistic idea that Burns was an autodidactic peasant-poet and a natural genius was an isolationist model used to place Burns within a vacuum, without a context of influences or traditions that stresses the simplistic, natural, and primitive sources of uncorrupted talent.

Von Berlepsch, however, was also aware of a different perception of a Burns who was not disconnected from literary precedents, but instead read old Scottish and English poetry, including Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' and Fergusson's poems (*C*, I, p. 216). When constructing her own view of Burns, she glosses over the issue of Burns's morality with an explanation that he was a pious peasant poet who always remained religious, despite being "degenerate" in later life. She writes, 'er ward das Opfer der verderblichen Sitte' (*C*, I, p.

215). In fact, he is not blamed for his own demise; instead von Berlepsch sketches a downfall that is the fault of those in the upper echelons of society who did not take responsibility for him when he entered the literary circles of Edinburgh, and also the fault of those from the rougher parts of society who influenced his excessive consumption of alcohol.

Von Berlepsch was eager to give the German readership an impression of the quality of Burns's poetry through comparisons with well-known North German poets. She first likens Burns to her German contemporaries, Johann Heinrich Voß (1751-1826), who was a writer of poetic idylls and a classical translator, in particular of Homer, and to Gottfried August Bürger (1747-1794), who was known for his ballads, and influenced Sir Walter Scott. However, she withdraws these comparisons immediately as inappropriate because the poetry of Bürger and Voß was in her view informed by the study of Classical antiquity and elevated forms of expression, whereas, she argues, Burns's writing should be placed into the category of 'Naturpoesie' (*C*, I, p. 232). She characterises Burns as having an innate sense of beauty and a kind of nobility that ennobled anything base. The moral dilemma of lionizing a genius poet who is also a man of questionable morals is resolved with the already mentioned separation of his persona into 'Burns the Man' and 'Burns the Poet'.[25] She produces a whitewashed version of the poet, explaining that any unsavoury vices he may have picked up in the town are not present in his poetry: 'So schwelgerisch und verdorben seine Sitten gewesen seyn mögen, nachdem ihn das Schicksal dem Treibofen des Stadtlebens zu nahe brachte; so wenig sind diese Fehler in seinen Gedichten zu bemerken […]' (*C*, I, p. 233). The incompatibility of celebrating a poetic genius whose actions are not socially acceptable seems to lead her to focus on the purity of the inner qualities of the poet's emotions, soul, and spirit, when constructing her version of Burns's poetic character. Burns receives high praise from von Berlepsch, as 'der einzig wahrhaft individuelle Volksdichter der neuern Zeit' (*C*, I, p. 230).

Von Berlepsch's Standard German translation of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' bears the title 'Der Sonnabend-Abend in der Schotten-Hütte' (*C*, I, pp. 241-50). It is inserted into

her travel description directly after her character sketch of Burns. The first eighteen stanzas are a summarised prose description, and stanzas nineteen to twenty-one are rendered into unrhymed, continuous pentameter (blank verse), thus changing the form of Burns's original Spenserian stanzas.[26] Her metrical translation comes at the point in Burns's poem when the focus turns away from the scene in the cotter's cottage to negative comments on the aristocracy and positive patriotic remarks on Scotland and her heroes.

In the introduction to what she calls a free translation of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night', von Berlepsch draws attention to the difference between the original and her translation, and her respect for her source text, by stating her regret that her translation will alter 'die bäurische Naivetät', or the naive and peasant or folk quality of the original. Her approach instead is to capture the meaning (Sinn) and the outline (Umriss) of the poem in a summarised prose description in German. It is clear from her discussion of her translation strategy that she uses the modesty topos (diminutio), claiming that her translation is inferior, stating that she is unable to produce a full metrical translation or poetry in dialect, and suggesting that her translation will fall below the expected norm that her source text demands. She was convinced, nevertheless, that her readers would know of Burns, but would need German translations because of his use of dialect. Using the English term 'broad Scottish', von Berlepsch describes Burns's dialect as 'ein plattes provinzialisches Englisch, das von der reinen Landessprache noch mehr abweicht als das niedersächsische Plattdeutsch von der obersächsischen Mundart' (*C*, I, p. 230). Nevertheless she concedes that Burns would only attract a wider interest if one had spent some time in Scotland and became acquainted with the customs of the people, in particular the highlanders.

The *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* reviewed the first three volumes of *Caledonia* in 1804 and commented that the travel description focuses less on the people, history, and geography of Scotland, and more on emotions, aesthetics, and poetry.[27] According to the reviewer, the register of her writing was too elevated for the common person, and too

romantic and rhapsodic. The *ALZ* also criticised von Berlepsch for spending too much time on her rhapsodies about Ossian, but nevertheless praises her translations of Ossian.[28] Her comments on Burns, however, are given little attention in this review and are merely dismissed as 'umständlich'.[29]

THE TRANSLATOR EMILIE FIERLEIN

In 1841, the little-known German translator Emilie Fierlein became the first woman to publish an anthology of German translations of Burns's poems, the *Ausgewählte Dichtungen nach dem Englischen des Burns und Byron und dem Französischen des Lamartine*. In 1845, she published *Lieder und Balladen des schottischen Dichters Robert Burns*. Her two anthologies of German translations of Burns's songs and ballads have been under-researched, and there are only a few brief references to her work in the secondary literature; one is in a footnote in Hans-Jürg Kupper's *Robert Burns im deutschen Sprachraum* (1979) and the other is in John R. Wilkie's essay 'Burns in the DDR' from 1977.[30] The fact that her first anthology of translated poems was republished in 1842 has never been mentioned. Her translations have become more accessible since the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek digitised a copy of the 1842 edition of her *Ausgewählte Dichtungen*, and likewise Emile von Berlepsch's *Caledonia*.

Very little historical or contextual information about Fierlein exists, and despite her translation anthologies, she did not leave easily accessible traces in relation to her life; it has so far been impossible to discover her birth and death dates, or any further details, but it can perhaps be assumed with some certainty that she was Franconian because her translations were published in Bamberg and Nuremberg.[31]

Fierlein's first anthology *Ausgewählte Dichtungen* was published by J. G. W. Schmidt in Bamberg in 1841 and was republished by a second Bamberg publisher Johann Casimir Dresch in 1842. Both editions are identical and contain 36 metrical translations of Burns's

songs and ballads in Standard German, four German translations of Lamartine's poems, a German translation of Lord Byron's *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem* (*AD*, pp. 87-156), and of his poem 'Darkness' ('Finsterniß') (*AD*, pp. 83-6).[32]

Fierlein's first publication must have been one of Schmidt's first commissions in Bamberg, for according to the business records of 1844, Schmidt formally registered the founding of his publishing house on 1 Feb. 1842, which was in the year after her publication appeared.[33] Fierlein's second Bamberg publisher, Dresch, was more established in Bamberg than Schmidt. Dresch was a close associate of E. T. A. Hoffmann's publisher, Carl Friedrich Kunz, and in 1833, Dresch bought Kunz's publishing company. After selling up, Kunz began to publish his own writing in Dresch's publishing house, such as his biographical sketches of Jean Paul and Hoffmann, and edited the letters of Bettina von Arnim (1836) and Rahel Varnhagen (1835). Like Kunz, Dresch set up a lending library in Bamberg in 1826, which became an extensive collection of 5591 books by 1831.[34] The borrowing records between 1832 and 1848 document that the most popular author in lending libraries across Germany and the Austrian Empire was Sir Walter Scott, and this statistic includes Dresch's library.[35] Robert Burns is not listed in the top 50 authors, probably because the translation of his works in anthologies was just getting underway in the 1840s in Germany. Fierlein's other source texts, the works of Lamartine and Byron, were available in Dresch's lending library by 1840, and so her translations would have had a market.[36] Statistically, in the nineteenth century Burns was the fourth most popular poet in anthologies of British poetry in German translation that included multiple authors; Burns featured in 106 anthologies.[37]

In 1845, Fierlein published her second anthology, *Lieder und Balladen des schottischen Dichters Robert Burns*, but this time in Nuremberg, presumably privately, as no publisher's name was printed on the title page. [38] This volume solely focuses on Burns and contains 77 translations of Burns's songs and ballads; the majority were new, although some reprints and retranslations of the poems were included that are also in her earlier anthologies

(1841 & 1842); a small number of the Burns translations in the first anthology were not republished in 1845, and surprisingly amongst these omissions were 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' and 'John Barleycorn'.

Unlike *Ausgewählte Dichtungen*, Fierlein's *Lieder und Balladen* contains two mottos which reveal that she was interested in another English-language writer, namely Edward Bulwer-Lytton (1803-1873), who was a very popular novelist in Germany at the time.[39] Her two short mottos are extracts in German translation from his novel *Night and Morning* (1841), and give us an insight into how she wanted Burns to be received. The first relates to the moment in the novel when Philip Vaudemont gives the character Fanny a small book containing Burns's songs. Here the narrator refers to Burns's lyricism and his nature poetry: 'Und er gab ihr ein kleines Bändchen jener ausgesuchten Lieder in die Hand, worin Burns die Natur in Musik gesetzt hat' (*LB*, p. ix). The original words in *Night and Morning* are: 'And he placed in her hands a little volume of those exquisite songs, in which Burns has set Nature to music.'[40] This motto highlights her anthologizing strategy of choosing Burns's lyrical songs about nature. In the context of the scene in Bulwer-Lytton's novel, it is clear that the aim of Vaudemont's gift is to educate Fanny's emotions and to connect with her sentimentally, for the selected songs reminded him of the simple poems his mother sang to him during his childhood. In Fierlein's second motto from the same novel, Burns's love songs are heralded as the most beautiful in the world and are praised for having the power to unlock the secrets of the heart: 'Hatten die Lieder von Burns, — Lieder, welche die schönsten Liebespoesien der Welt in sich begreifen — hatten sie ihr einige Geheimnisse ihres Herzens entdecken helfen?' (*LB*, p. ix). They evidently play a role in the sentimental education of the heroine; for Fierlein, Burns's poetry has didactic, sentimental, and romantic functions. The mottos demonstrate the popularity of Bulwer-Lytton and that he must have mediated Burns to many readers in nineteenth-century Germany.

Fierlein's preface to her translation of Byron's *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem* (Byron's original dates from 1816-17) in her first anthology *Ausgewählte Dichtungen* (1841 & 1842) is the only published comment on her approach to translation in her anthologies (*AD*, p. 87). By 1841, there were already too many published translations of *Manfred* to list here, and her *Manfred* translation was not the first in the original metrical form, but nevertheless, Fierlein still felt the need to set out a case for rejecting the "poetry into prose" approach and justifying copying the form of the original metre. In her translator's preface, she initially concedes that a metrically accurate translation compromises fidelity to the original: 'Am treuesten kann ein poetisches Werk nur durch die Prosa übersetzt werden.' (*AD*, p. 87) But she goes on to argue that while being true to the original is important, it is better not to lose the rhythm of the verse with a prose translation of poetry, but instead to accept a small loss of fidelity. In addition to this, she notes that her translation of *Manfred* is directed specifically at an educated readership that may find fault with her approach to preserving the poetic form at the expense of other forms of loyalty to the source text. Fierlein writes:

> Klarheit und Deutlichkeit, so wie mögliche Berücksichtigung des Wortes war das Ziel, welches ich bei vorliegender, im Metrum des Originals gegebener Uebersetzung Manfreds nie aus dem Auge verlor. (*AD*, p. 87)

In order to achieve these translation goals of clarity of expression, original metre, and accuracy of meaning, Fierlein declares that she has made compromises relating to the form, such as using more verses than are in the original, because, she maintains, German is less economical with words than English. The assumption again is that her readers were well-versed in reading German translations of English texts and would be familiar with these kinds of translation problems. Her final comment refers to a specific metrical adjustment where the spirits in *Manfred* speak in short rhymed verses, noting that she has opted to use unrhymed

iambic pentameter instead. This introductory note to her *Manfred* translation manages the expectations of the reader by justifying the linguistic adjustments in the translation.

On 8 August 1847, Fierlein's Burns translations in the *Lieder und Balladen* (1845) were reviewed negatively in the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* by philologist and ethnologist Eduard Fiedler (1817-1850), who was a translator of Burns and Chaucer into German.[41] His credentials for reviewing Fierlein's work were that he had studied in London and Edinburgh, and had just published a multi-volume history of Scottish folksongs, *Geschichte der volksthümlichen schottischen Liederdichtung* (1846), which included his own translations of Burns and other Scottish poets, including 'The Cotter's Saturday Night'. Not exactly a neutral reviewer, since his volume was competing with Fierlein's on the book market, Fiedler rejected Fierlein's translations on the grounds that they did not function as a true representation of Burns's poetry. In his opinion, they were lacking in poetic and linguistic skill, and had deficiencies in the aesthetic form, 'der Sinn für schöne Form'.[42] He argued that Fierlein had not understood Burns's poetry or the beauty of his language, and her work was missing all of the qualities needed for literary translation.[43] Furthermore, he proposed a hierarchy of Burns translators, placing Fierlein's Burns translations 'hinter der schlechtesten aller bisherigen Uebersetzungen Burns', claiming they were considerably worse than Wilhelm Gerhard's, whereas he ranked Ferdinand Freiligrath and Heinrich Julius Heintze at the top of the scale.[44] Fiedler also criticised Fierlein for leaving out details of poetic images and generalising them, which he thought led to the loss of their force, explaining that one should translate Burns, 'ohne daß Burns aufhörte Burns zu sein'.[45] This reaction indicates that Fiedler expected the translator to be subservient to the original author and not "overwrite" Burns. Fiedler's own translation, 'Des Häuslers Sonnabend Abend' (1846), retains the Spenserian stanza form, but only offers a translation of the sixteen stanzas that relate to the cotter's family, despite arguing for fidelity to Burns.[46]

Fierlein's 'Des Hüttenbewohners Samstag-Abend' in the *Ausgewählte Dichtungen* (1841 & 1842) is a free, metrical translation of Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night'. Her translation approach here is different to her *Manfred* translation, in that she made considerable changes to the form and text. She reduced Burns's twenty-one stanzas to seventeen, and did not translate the first, thirteenth, fifteenth, and twenty-first stanzas. To a certain extent, she followed the metrical pattern of the Spenserian stanza, by reproducing nine-line stanzas and iambic feet, but instead of using eight lines of iambic pentameter and the final line of twelve syllabic iambic hexameter, she chose to use eight lines of iambic feet which alternate between twelve and eleven syllables, with a final line of fourteen syllables. Fierlein also changed the rhyming scheme from ababbcbcc to ababcdcdd.

In the following analysis, I will compare and contrast stanzas twelve to eighteen of Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' with von Berlepsch's and Fierlein's translations, in order to demonstrate that there is more to the religious stanzas than the secondary literature has hitherto acknowledged and that the German women translators engaged with Burns's critique of religion.

Stanza Twelve: Call to Worship

Stanza twelve is a key sentimental scene in the poem when, after a cheerful supper of porridge and matured cheese that has been brought out in honour of the cotter's daughter Jenny's suitor's visit, the father solemnly calls his to family to worship.[47] The mood changes quickly from cheerfulness whilst dining, to solemnity when worshipping. The family comes together in a circle around the fireplace, and the father leafs through the family Bible that he has inherited from his father, laying his cap aside, revealing his grey locks of thinning hair, and carefully selecting sweet lines or verses that are described as being once heard in Zion. It is noteworthy that the last three lines in stanza twelve have had many afterlives in German

translation because they preface chapter six of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826); examples of these are Heinrich Döring's *Der letzte Mohikan* (1826) or Leonard Tafel's *Der letzte Mohikaner* (1841).[48]

Von Berlepsch's prose translation of stanza twelve misses out the transition from the cheerful atmosphere over supper to the solemnity of worship, and only focuses on the aspect of earnestness in the family's demeanour as they sit around the 'ingle', or fireplace, and the father's solemn announcement of 'Laß uns beten zu Gott!' (*C*, I, p. 246). Von Berlepsch has the father fetch the Bible rather than using the Burns's image of him thumbing through the pages 'with patriarchal grace'. Similarly, Fierlein leaves out the reference to the change of mood after the supper, and only focuses on the serious faces of all present. She also introduces the idea of someone bringing the Bible, however in Fierlein's rendition the father is described as 'der Greis' (probably because it rhymes with 'Kreis', as they are sitting in a circle), a very old man, which moves away from Burns's 'Sire', yet she keeps the idea of his patriarchal grace.

Stanza Thirteen: Psalms

In Burns's stanza thirteen, the family sings psalms to the common tunes Dundee, Martyrs, and Elgin. Burns refers to the simplicity of the tunes, 'their artless notes in simple guise', and the style, describing Dundee as 'wild warbling', the lamenting Martyrs as 'plaintive', and the 'noble Elgin', 'the sweetest far of Scotia's holy lays' (*TCSN*, p. 11). The selection of three psalm tunes refers to a Church of Scotland context and reformed worship. These particular three psalm tunes belonged to the reduced Church of Scotland canon of twelve common metre tunes, established in the New Scottish Psalter in 1666.[49] At the end of the stanza there is a comparison between psalm singing and 'Italian trills', the latter of which are described as being 'tame' and not moving the heart to the point of rapture, and not leading to a 'unison

[…] with our Creator's praise' (*TCSN*, p. 11). The particular psalms sung to Martyrs (Psalms 43, 76, 130), Dundee (Psalms 22, 20) and Elgin (Psalm 142) are solemn in tone, and focus on the plight of those in desperate circumstances. Psalms 43 and 76 focus on judgement and salvation, and 130 is a penitential psalm; Psalms 22, 120, and 142 appeal to God for rescue from the torments of enemies.[50]

Von Berlepsch is the only German translator to refer to the word psalms directly, but omits the names of the tunes, thus reducing the Scottish cultural references; her paraphrase describes the psalm singing as artless, simple, and loud, but adds that it is accompanied by the beating of the hearts of the singers. They sing 'erst Psalmen, dann einige der alten wild wirbelnden Weisen des schottischen Volks' (*C*, I, p. 246). The wild, warbling Scottish songs are not specifically noted as religious texts in von Berlepsch's translation, which secularises the psalms-singing scene somewhat. However, like Burns, she refers to Italian music not producing heart-felt raptures when praising God.

Fierlein leaves out stanza thirteen altogether, and in doing so removes the reference to the Scottish psalm singing tradition, changing the scene into one of quiet prayer and Bible readings.

Stanza Fourteen: Old Testament

In Burns's stanza fourteen, the harmony of the family scene is altered by violent imagery in the readings from the Old Testament. Here Burns presents a wrathful and avenging God, refers to Abram (sic), Moses's war against the descendants of Amalek during the Exodus from Egypt, God's punishment of King David, 'the royal Bard', for adultery (II Samuel 11-12), Job's suffering, the prophet 'Isaiah's wild, seraphic fire', and other 'Holy Seers' who play 'the sacred lyre' (*TCSN*, pp. 11-12).[51] What Abraham, Moses, and King David have in common is that they are all regarded as sealing covenants with God, but although Burns does

not mention the covenants specifically, he nevertheless places the patriarchs of the Old Testament in the correct historical order, and uses the pre-covenantal name Abram rather than Abraham, although this could be to accommodate the metre (Genesis 17.5). In the unconditional Abrahamic Covenant, God selects the people of Israel as his chosen people and gives them the right to the land of Canaan (Genesis 17). In the conditional Mosaic Covenant, God promises the chosen people the nation of Israel, on the condition that they obey the commandments in the Torah (Exodus 19-20). The unconditional Davidic Covenant establishes the chosen Messianic line from which Jesus is to descend (II Samuel 7).[52] The brutality of Moses's war against the Amalekites, who rejected the covenant, and the suffering of Job and King David, creates the impression that the divine will punishes human sinfulness. These covenants are linked to the new covenant that arises from Christ's sacrifice, which Burns refers to in the next stanza. It is noteworthy that discussions of Old Testament eschatology focus on the covenants and God's interventions in relation to the preservation of Israel. Burns's interest in these particular Old Testament figures can be seen therefore as part of the eschatological theme of the poem.

Von Berlepsch reduces the detail of stanza fourteen and omits Burns's references to Abraham, Moses, Job, and 'Isaiah's wild, seraphic fire' (*TCSN*, pp. 11-12). This results in the loss of the Old and New Testament thematic focus of the original and the overall liturgical structure of the religious stanzas. She replaces Burns's disruption of the rustic idyll and images of an avenging God with a more positive idea of sublime stories of God's favourites, their miracles, and deeds, by using the general phrase, 'erhabene Geschichten, von den Lieblingen Gottes, von ihren Wundern und Thaten' (*C*, I, p. 247). Fierlein, on the other hand, includes a reasonably accurate translation of the Old Testament stanza, but emphasises that God is almighty. She removes Burns's negative judgements of Moses's war as 'bad eternal warfare' and Amalek's descendants as 'ungracious progeny' (*TCSN*, p. 12), but adds that the

royal Bard is repentant. These changes indicate an unwillingness to criticise the patriarchs of the Old Testament.

Stanza Fifteen: New Testament

The fifteenth stanza of Burns's poem is concerned with possible passages in the New Testament that the cotter might read to his family on a Saturday night. Burns begins with a reference to the blood sacrifice of guiltless Jesus for 'guilty man' (*TCSN*, p. 12), but without explicitly naming Jesus, acknowledging the atonement for human sins or the salvific meaning of the sacrifice. Burns highlights the humanity and divinity of Jesus in referring to his human death and position in heaven as bearing the second name, implying that the son is second to the father in the Trinity. Returning to an earthly Jesus, Burns concentrates on the image of an unsettled Jesus without a home, which strongly contrasts with the rootedness of the cotter's home life. He uses direct references to Matthew 8.20 and Luke 9.58, where Jesus explains that whereas the foxes have dens and birds have nests, in contrast, the Son of Man has no place to rest or lay his head.[53] It is a conversation in which Jesus talks about the sacrifice that his disciples would need to make when following him. Burns then moves on to the missionary work of Jesus's 'followers and servants' and their dissemination of 'precepts sage' via the written word, communicated to 'many a land' (*TCSN*, pp. 12-13), before introducing the apocalyptic references to John of Patmos (Revelation 1.9), his prophetic vision of the angel who announces the destruction of Babylon (Revelation 18.1-2 and 18.21), and the angel standing in the sun (Revelation 19.17).[54] Burns presents the dominant view from the Reformation onwards that St. John was either exiled or banished to Patmos.[55]

Von Berlepsch's translation of stanza fifteen introduces the idea of salvation, but removes the reference to the blood sacrifice of Jesus, instead focusing on the guiltless one who saved those with guilt, 'Geschichten […] von Ihm, dem Schuldlosen, der die schuldigen

Menschen errettete' (*C*, I, p. 247). She keeps the idea of Jesus bearing the second name, but cites him as present in the heaven of heavens, rather than using Burns's less superlative reference to heaven, thus echoing 1 Kings 8.27: 'But will God indeed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain You. How much less this temple which I have built!' At the opening of the temple, King Solomon asks whether God really lives on Earth, which introduces the idea that God cannot be contained within a temple.[56] Thus, von Berlepsch's change places both God and Jesus in the context of homelessness on earth.[57] She omits Burns's allusion to John of Patmos, but includes the missionary work of the disciples, with the additional detail that the apostles collected Jesus's teachings for all races of the earth. In effect von Berlepsch has replaced Burns's focus on the apocalyptic visions of John and the theme of divine revelation with the theme of salvation and global mission, and reduces Burns's detailed referencing to the New Testament.

Fierlein omits the New Testament stanza entirely, which allows the ideas on faith and emotional forms of worship to dominate and changes the liturgical structure of the religious stanzas.

Stanza Sixteen: Prayer and Hymns

Burns's sixteenth stanza centres on the cotter kneeling to lead family prayers. Adapting a reference to Alexander Pope's poem 'Windsor Forest' (1713), which refers to the shooting of a pheasant that 'springs,/ And mounts exulting on triumphant wings', the cotter's prayer refers to hope and a future union of the family, when they will sing hymns together in praise of God (*TCSN*, p. 13).[58] The 'future days' of the family reunion implies that this will take place after death and introduces the theme of eschatological hope of a better life after death, 'There, ever bask in uncreated rays,/ No more to sigh, or shed the bitter tear' (*TCSN*, p. 13), which cites

elements of Revelation 21.4: 'He will wipe every tear from their eyes. There will be no more death or mourning or crying or pain, for the old order of things has passed away.'

In *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, Gerhard Sauter highlights the central role that hope plays in Protestant eschatology, arguing that eschatological longing is a desire for a different and better situation that contrasts with the current less favourable context of the present. Sauter explains that God's judgement of human actions and faith are among the last things to occur before time ends, and that the hope of avoiding eternal damnation is part of the discussion of how Christians relate to the end of history: 'Hope in salvation and everlasting life must always be accompanied by the fear of eternal perdition and desolation.'[59] Sauter explains that from a Calvinist perspective, understanding the progression of history towards the end of the world and the beginning of the new everlasting world to come involves referring to a system of classification that draws on covenantal theology and views the progression towards salvation in historical stages. These stages are marked by the divine revelation of 'a series of God's covenants with the creation […], with Noah, Abraham, and David, culminating in the covenant of the grace of God as Father and Son'.[60] Although he does not include Moses in the list, Sauter, like Michael H. Montgomery, points out that 'a succession of covenants' that culminates in the arrival of the kingdom of God is part of the reformed and Calvinist understanding of the route to salvation.[61] The final line of stanza sixteen, 'While circling Time moves round in an eternal sphere' (*TCSN*, p. 14), which puzzled the critic Daiches, who called it a 'rather doubtful attempt at metaphysical sublimity', should perhaps be seen in the context of the eschatological ideas in the poem, such as the end of the world, life after death, the last judgement, and hope of salvation, since it refers to the progression of time as part of the concept of eternity, thus making the transcendental family reunion a permanent future experience, and highlighting the relationship between time and the eschaton.[62]

Von Berlepsch gives a full description of Burns's sixteenth stanza, adding that the whole family listens and kneels with the father, the husband, and the saint, who prays to the eternal King of the world, rather than using Burns's 'Heaven's Eternal King'. She embellishes Burns's reference to hope as 'die seelige Hoffnung' (*C*, I, p. 247). Where Burns only implies that the family reunion will be after death, 'thus they all shall meet in future days' (*TCSN*, p. 13), von Berlepsch refers explicitly to them meeting beyond the grave, when they shall be free from sighs and tears (*C*, I, p. 247). She omits Burns's reference to 'circling Time moves round in an eternal sphere' (*TCSN*, p. 14) and instead concentrates on the idea of the family being united 'zu besserer Liebe und zu höherer Anbetung des Gottes, der ihnen das Leben der Erde und die Seeligkeit der Himmel gab', which dwells and expands on Burns's 'Together hymning their *Creator's* praise' (*C*, I, p. 248; *TCSN*, p. 14).

Fierlein's translation of the sixteenth stanza does not include the reference to the cotter as a saint, only referring to him as the father and husband. In her rendition, he kneels and pleads to heaven (*AD*, p 20). The father's prayer focuses on his request for assistance in preserving their faith in the context of the tumult or turmoil on earth, 'Erhalt' uns den Glauben im Erdengetümmel' (*AD*, p 20). Fierlein also states that they will reunite in happiness in the hereafter, where they will sun themselves in the rays of Heaven, their tears will dry up, their pain will end, and 'die Seufzer verhallen/ Im freudigen Loblied des Herrn' (*AD*, p. 20). In Fierlein's translation the prayer finishes with the certainty of salvation, 'ohne Fehl/ Erscheinen wir dorten', and the lightening of the darkness, thus moving quite far from Burns's comment on time circling eternally (*AD*, p. 20).

Stanza Seventeen: Criticism of the Church

In stanza seventeen, Burns criticises the pomp, ritual, ecclesiastical clothing, and pageantry in church worship, and directs his negative comments towards those who take part in

congregational worship for appearances sake and with a lack of feeling: 'When men display to congregations wide,/ Devotion's every grace, except the *heart!*' (*TCSN*, p. 14). Burns presents the ideas that the church vestments decorate what is holy with a negatively-loaded pride, and pomp is a form of vanity that pays homage to the senses, but never revitalises the heart. In contrast, Burns praises domestic family worship in the cottage, as a place where one can hear 'the language of the soul' (*TCSN*, p. 14). He finishes this stanza with a biblical and eschatological reference to the Book of Life (in Revelations 20.12 and 15), which contains the names (and actions) of those to be saved, concluding that 'the inmates poor' who worship with integrity, such as the cotters, will be enrolled in the Book of Life at the Final Judgement.[63]

Like Burns, von Berlepsch criticises the poverty of feeling in the pomp and rhetoric of church worship in contrast with the feelings experienced in the cottage. She states that the one whom they claim to worship will turn His back on vain pretence, but bless the cottage where His name is lovingly called in childish babbling. Both von Berlepsch and Fierlein leave out the references to the church vestments, the language of the soul, and the Book of Life, in favour of an examination of the role of the heart in worship. Fierlein criticises poverty in relation to faith in the context of large church congregations as opposed to 'die kindliche Andacht' of the cotter's domestic setting. She notes the simplicity of worship and emphasises the importance of the spiritual education of the heart: 'Doch einfachen Weisen beseelen zum Guten,/ Sie sprechen mit unwiderstehlichem Drang/ Zum Herzen,' (*AD*, p. 20).

Stanza Eighteen: Dismissal

In Burns's eighteenth stanza, the domestic worship is concluded with the dismissal. As the family retires to rest, the parents offer a final prayer that pays 'secret homage' to God, asking him to provide for them and their children 'in the way His wisdom sees the best' and to fill

their hearts with ‘Grace divine’ (*TCSN*, p. 15). The theme of trusting God to provide is conveyed in stanza eighteen with references to the Old and New Testaments, Job 38.41 and Luke 12.24; here God is described as providing food for the raven when its young cry out; in Luke 12.27, God is the originator of the lily’s beauty, which is echoed in Burns’s ‘and decks the lily fair in flow’ry pride’ (*TCSN*, p. 15). Luke 12.22-32 has an eschatological theme, here Jesus speaks to his disciples about not worrying about worldly concerns, such as food, water, and clothing for God will provide, but instead to make preparations for the kingdom of God.

Von Berlepsch conveys the departure of the children in a little more detail, specifying that the older children go back, whilst the younger ones go to bed, leaving the cotter and his wife alone, to talk about their children. She summarises Burns’s ‘secret homage’ that is proffered up to heaven as a form of trust in the one who clothes the lily and quietens the young ravens’ screeches. Leaving God’s wisdom and the comfort of divine grace out of the translation, von Berlepsch foregrounds the trust in God, and focuses more than Burns on the family retiring to sleep peacefully.

Fierlein gives more detail than Burns and von Berlepsch about the parents praying, since she depicts them asking Heaven for a blessing and giving thanks for God’s kindness. Fierlein includes the idea of God clothing the lily and not forgetting the brood of the screaming raven, but in her version the parents appeal to God in his wisdom to protect the children from being tempted to commit evil deeds, which is not in Burns’s original. She also omits Burns’s reference to divine grace and only refers to the trust in God that the parents have.

Conclusion

Literary apocalypses reveal the religious climate of their time, and it is not surprising that von Berlepsch (around 1800) and Fierlein (around 1840) revised Burns’s mid-1780s response to

apocalyptic revelation. What has been understated in the scholarship to date is that 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' belongs to the canon of apocalyptic and eschatological literature. It tracks a salvation route through the Old and New Testaments towards a positive, hopeful, and blissful transcendental future; it includes the eschatological and salvational significance of Jesus, whilst also excluding the representation of a frightening end of world scenario. In Burns's poem, the cotters represent a divinely elected group, who are listed in the Book of Life for final salvation. He envisions the cotters' heart-felt religious worship as inviting God's benevolence and grace, and his negative criticism of ritualised and decadent religious practices without heart-felt devotion contrasts sharply with the positive language of the soul that the 'inmates poor' use, thus emphasising a dichotomy between rich and poor cultures, and church and home worship. Burns also explores his literary apocalypse within a recognisable liturgical framework, and this has also been overlooked in scholarship. This underscores his critique of ritualised worship and 'the pomp of method' (*TCSN*, p. 14) on a structural level. It is clear that Burns's intention is to represent the cotters as an historicised counter-example to unreformed religious practice and to signal a return to or a renewal of their religious morals and values that are to be emulated in Scotland in preparation for Judgement Day. Burns's optimistic response to the apocalypse is clearly separate from the English Romantic millenarianism and eschatological anxieties.

It is clear from the ways in which the female translators have translated the religious content of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' that religious sensitivities have influenced their translation strategies. Von Berlepsch's translation reveals her avoiding the presentation of God as avenging and wrathful, and the characterisation of the patriarchs of the Old Testament as sinful and ruthless. The reduction in the Old Testament material removes Burns's references to the Old Testament figures who made covenants with God, and alters the theme of salvation history. By not including John of Patmos or the Book of Life, von Berlepsch omits eschatological and apocalyptic imagery, and reduces the New Testament content.

Instead, von Berlepsch places her emphasis on prayer and hope, and on worshipping and loving God. Like Burns, she describes an emotional form of worship favourably, but like Fierlein, she does not go as far as to include Burns's criticism of church vestments and pageantry, instead using the terms 'Schmuck' and 'Herrlichkeit', whilst remaining focused on the poverty of feeling in large congregational church worship (*C*, I, p. 248).

Fierlein's focus is also on the spiritual education of the heart and its role in worship, and the hope of salvation and deliverance from evil. She translates the Old Testament references, but is still less critical than Burns of Moses, Amalek's descendants, and Job. She has reinterpreted the domestic scene in the cottage without the psalm singing and with an emphasis on the preservation of faith, prayer, and the role of the heart and simplicity in religious worship. The omission of the psalm singing loses the reference to Scottish cultural practices and the solemnity of the occasion; the missing New Testament stanza avoids reference to Jesus's death and sacrifice, his position in heaven, the role of the apostles, the revelations of John of Patmos, and the Book of Life, which reduces the eschatological and apocalyptic theme.

What connects von Berlepsch's and Fierlein's translations and sets them apart from Wilhelm Gerhard's, Eduard Fiedler's and Adolf Laun's is their reduction and omission of key apocalyptic and eschatological references (John of Patmos, the angel's revelation, the Book of Life, the judgement of the dead, and divine grace). This reduces the urgency of Burns's reform to religious practice and morality, since there are fewer prompts to reflect on the end of the world scenario. The effect of these changes is the preservation of the rural domestic idyll that the images of divine revelation, retribution, and punishment disrupt in Burns's poem.

[1] Emilie von Berlepsch, *Caledonia*, 4 vols, Hamburg, 1802-04 (hereafter *C*); Emilie Fierlein (tr.), *Ausgewählte Dichtungen nach dem Englischen des Burns und Byron und dem Französischen des Lamartine*, Bamberg 1841 & 1842 (hereafter *AD*) and *Lieder und Balladen des schottischen Dichters Robert Burns*, Nürnberg 1845 (hereafter *LB*); Louise von Ploennies (tr.), *Britannia. Eine Auswahl englischer Dichtungen alter und neuer Zeit*, Frankfurt a. M. 1843; for information about six Burns poems translated Ilse Frapan, see Christa Kraft-Schwenk, *Ilse Frapan: Eine Schriftstellerin zwischen Anpassung und Emanzipation*, Würzburg 1985, p. 38.

[2] Robert Burns wrote 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' between 1785 and 1786, and published it in *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, known as the Kilmarnock volume, in 1786. For references to Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night', I will be using, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, 2 vols, Edinburgh 1800, I, pp. 1-17 (hereafter *TCSN*). This edition is closest in time to Emilie von Berlepsch's translation. For the remaining female Burns translators, see *Übersetzte Literatur in deutschsprachigen Anthologien. Eine Bibliographie*, ed. Helga Eßmann, Stuttgart 2000, XIII/3: *Anthologien mit Dichtungen der britischen Inseln und der USA*, pp. 60-6. This bibliography also contains references to lesser-known male translators of Burns into German whose translation work is not known in the research field; they contributed to translation anthologies that feature the work of more than three poets. Male translators who produced anthologies of Burns's poetry and songs in German translation are the most well-known in the research field. For brief commentary on Wilhelmine Prinzhorn and Luise Büchner, see Hans Jürg Kupper, *Robert Burns im deutschen Sprachraum*, Bern 1979, pp. 40-3 and p. 317.

[3] Wilhelm Gerhard (tr.), *Robert Burns' Gedichte*, Leipzig 1840, pp. 8-15; Eduard Fiedler (tr.), *Geschichte der volksthümlichen schottischen Liederdichtung*, 2 vols, Zerbst 1846, I, pp. 161-5; Adolf Laun (tr.), *Robert Burns, Lieder und Balladen*, Berlin 1869, pp. 180-8.

[4] J. Walter McGinty, *Robert Burns and Religion*, Aldershot 2003, p. 218 and David B. Morris, 'Burns and Heteroglossia', *The Eighteenth Century*, 28 (1987), 3-27 (21).

[5] Morris, p. 21.

[6] David Daiches, *Robert Burns. The Poet*, Edinburgh 1994, p. 147.

[7] Since there was, as Manfred Görlach points out, no Bible in Scots at the time Burns was writing, it can be argued then that after this point in the poem, Burns's many references to the Bible draw on the idea that Standard English was the dominant written religious language. Manfred Görlach, *Englishes: Studies in Varieties of English, 1984*-1989, Amsterdam 1991, p. 83. See also David Murison, 'The Language of Burns', in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. Donald A. Low, London 1975, pp. 54-69 (p. 61).

[8] Donald A. Low, *Robert Burns*, Edinburgh 1986, p. 43.

[9] *Ibid*. While there is little commentary in the secondary literature on the religious stanzas, there is, however, evidence of interpretation and engagement with them in the German translations of 'The Cotter's Saturday Night'.

[10] 'Although the Eucharistic celebration follows a simple form, since the Church of Scotland had always treated developed liturgical forms with suspicion, there are nevertheless frequent echoes of such forms. Admittedly they are quoted from their original Biblical, rather than from liturgical sources, but their frequency suggests a knowledge of liturgical forms of worship.' *A Communion Sunday in Scotland ca. 1780: Liturgies and Sermons*, ed. Robin A. Leaver, Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK 2010, p. 19.

[11] See Morton D. Paley, *Apocalypse and Millenium in English Romantic Poetry*, Oxford 1999.

[12] Anne K. Mellor, 'Blake, the Apocalypse and Romantic Women Writers', in *Romanticism and Millenarianism*, ed. Tim Fulford, New York 2002, pp. 139-52 (p. 140).

[13] Klaus Vondung, *The Apocalypse in Germany*, tr. Stephen D. Ricks, Columbia, MO 2000, p. 125.

[14] John E. Groh, *Nineteenth Century German Protestantism. The Church as Social Model*, Washington, DC 1982, p. 95.

[15] Groh, pp. 110-1.

[16] Ruth P. Dawson, *The Contested Quill: Literature by Women in Germany, 1770-1800*, Newark (Del.) 2002, p. 259.

[17] See Alexander Gillies, *A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar: The Reverend James Macdonald and the Cultural Relations Between Scotland and Germany*, New York 1969 and Alison Hiley, 'German-Speaking Travellers in Scotland, 1800-1860, and their Place in the History of European Travel Literature', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1985.

[18] Gillies, *A Hebridean in Goethe's Weimar*, p. 13 (note 14).

[19] Alexander Gillies, *Emilie von Berlepsch and her Caledonia*, Leeds 1972, pp. 1-3.

[20] Alexander Gillies, 'Emilie von Berlepsch and Burns', *MLR*, 55 (1960), 584-7 (585).

[21] Gillies, 'Von Berlepsch and Burns', p. 585 (note 15).

[22] *Ibid*.

[23] Frauke Reitemeier, '"Nature's Poet" and Socialist Model: The Reception of Robert Burns in Germany', in *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. Murray Pittock, Lewisburg 2011, pp. 73-89 (p. 74).

[24] Rosemary Anne Selle, 'The Parritch and The Partridge: The Reception of Robert Burns in Germany: A History', Ph.D. dissertation, University of Heidelberg, 1981, p. 53.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] The Spenserian stanza is a Renaissance epic form. It was made popular by Byron in *Childe Harolde* and consists of eight lines of rhymed iambic pentameter and a ninth line of iambic hexameter — ababbcbcc.

[27] '[Berlepsch, E. V.]: Caledonia. T. 1-3. Von der Verfasserin der Sommerstunden [i.e. E. V. Berlepsch]. Hamburg: Hoffmann 1802-03', *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 2/141 (1804), 325-8.

[28] These are extracts from *Dar-Thula*, *Fingal*, *The Songs of Selma*, *Berrathon*, *The War of Inis-Thona*, *Carthon*, and the whole of *The Battle of Lora*.

[29] 'Caledonia', *ALZ*, 2/141 (1804), 326.

[30] Kupper, p. 187 (note 2); John R. Wilkie, 'Burns in the DDR: Some Thoughts on a New Anthology', *GLL*, 31/1 (1977), 97-105.

[31] The digipress online catalogue of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich has accessible collections of newspapers that contain short references to Emilie Fierlein's work. It was possible to find a Mad. (presumably Madame) Fierlein of Nuremberg in the catalogue. See the *Münchner Tageblatt*, 19 April 1845, 502.

[32] The Lamartine translations are called 'Der Abend', 'Der Herbst', 'Isolierung', and 'Der See'.

[33] Otto August Schulz, *Allgemeines Addressbuch für den Deutschen Buchhandel den Antiquar-, Musikalien-, Kunst-und Landkarten-Handel und verwandte Geschäftszweige. 1844*, Leipzig 1844, p. 118.

[34] Alberto Martino, *Die deutsche Leihbibliothek: Geschichte einer literarischen Institution*, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 287.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid*., p. 227.

[37] In this period, Burns's 'My Heart Is in the Highlands' takes second place in the top 15 British poems to be translated into German and was included in anthologies of selections of British writers 29 times, with German translation of 'A Red Red Rose' in fourth place, which was published 27 times. See Eßmann, p. xvi (note 2).

[38] See note 1.

[39] Between 1815 and 1848 Bulwer-Lytton was the third most popular writer in German lending libraries; he was read widely in English as well as in German translation. See Martino, p. 745 (note 30).

[40] Edward Bulwer Lyton, *Night and Morning*, 3 vols, London 1841, III, p. 62.

[41] Eduard Fiedler, 'Die neuesten Uebersetzungen englischer Dichtungen', *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 8 August 1847, 878-9.

[42] *Ibid.*, 879.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] *Ibid.* See also note 3 and Ferdinand Freiligrath (tr.), *Gedichte*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1838 and Heinrich Julius Heintze (tr.), *Robert Burns, Lieder und Balladen*, Braunschweig 1840.

[45] Fiedler, 'Die neuesten Uebersetzungen', 879 (note 37).

[46] See note 3.

[47] See Alison Jack, '"Let us Worship God!" – Worship in Scottish Literature from Robert Burns to James Robertson', in *Worship and Liturgy in Context: Studies and Case Studies in Theology and Practice*, eds Duncan B. Forrester and Doug Gay, London 2009, pp. 50-64.

[48] James Fenimore Cooper, *Der letzte Mohikaner. Eine Erzählung aus dem Jahre 1757*, tr. Heinrich Döring, Frankfurt a. M. 1826.

[49] Millar Patrick, *Four Centuries of Scottish Psalmody*, London 1950, p. 111. It was common practice in the eighteenth century in Church of Scotland churches to only use two to four of the twelve psalm tunes regularly. See also William B. Bynum, '"The Genuine Presbyterian Whine": Presbyterian Worship in the Eighteenth Century', *American Presbyterians*, 74 (1996), 157-70 (161).

[50] http://www.thepsalmssung.org/scottish/ (accessed 9 November 2018).

[51] Robert Burns, *Selected Poems and Songs*, ed. Robert P. Irvine, Oxford 2013, p. 307.

[52] J. Albert Harrill, *Paul the Apostle: His Life and Legacy in their Roman Context*, Cambridge 2012, p. 57.

[53] Irvine, p. 307 (note 46).

[54] The question whether or not John was banished to Patmos, found refuge there, or went there to receive the vision, has been a matter of dispute for centuries, see Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse*, Oxford 2013, pp. 213-29.

[55] *Ibid*., p. 215.

[56] 'Siehe, selbst der Himmel und die Himmel der Himmel fassen dich nicht, wie viel weniger das Haus, das ich gebaut habe!' (I Kings, 8.27).

[57] Dietmar Mieth, 'Der Himmel in mir. Die Interiorisierung des Himmels bei Meister Eckhart. "Was oben war, ist innen"', in *Der Himmel als transkultureller ethischer Raum*, eds Harald Lesch, Bernd Oberdorfer, and Stephanie Waldow, Göttingen 2016, pp. 105-26 (p. 106).

[58] Alexander Pope, *Windsor-Forest. To the Right Honourable George Lord Lansdown*, Dublin 1713, p. 7.

[59] Gerhard Sauter, 'Protestant Theology', in *The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology*, ed. Jerry L. Walls, Oxford 2008, pp. 248-62 (p. 249-50).

[60] *Ibid*., p. 252.

[61] Eddy van der Borght, 'Reformed Ecclesiology', in *The Routledge Companion to the Christian Church*, eds Gerard Mannion and Lewis S. Mudge, New York and London 2010, pp. 187-201 (p. 188).

[62] Daiches, pp. 147-8 (note 6).

[63] See Paul's Epistle to the Philippians 4.3 for a reference to the labourers who will be recorded in the Book of Life. See also Irvine, p. 308 (note 46).